

## Message Text

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P R 212219Z APR 75  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 091311

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR NATO UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

REF: (A) USNATO 2017; (B) USNATO 2140

1. FOLLOWING IS US CONTRIBUTION, PREPARED BY INR, TO  
POSSIBLE POLADS DISCUSSION OF ABOVE SUBJECT.

2. BEGIN TEXT. THE US CONCERN WITH "PEACEFUL  
COEXISTENCE" HAS NOT CENTERED ON THE DOCTRINE ITSELF  
BUT ON FACT THAT IN SOVIET USAGE, REGARDLESS OF HOW IT IS  
EXPLAINED OR EMBELLISHED, THE DOCTRINE GOVERNS RELATIONS  
ONLY BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. INSIDE  
THE COMMUNIST CAMP, "PROLETARIAN," OR "SOCIALIST" INTER-  
NATIONALISM STILL TAKES PRIORITY OVER PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE,  
EVEN THOUGH PRINCIPLES ATTRIBUTED TO THE LATTER -- RESPECT  
FOR SOVEREIGNTY, EQUALITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY; NON-  
INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS; NON-USE OF FORCE OR  
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THREAT OF FORCE -- ARE ALSO SUPPOSED TO CONDITION BEHAVIOR

AMONG COMMUNIST STATES UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES. THE  
"CLASS" CHARACTER OF INTRA-COMMUNIST RELATIONS DICTATES  
THAT

-- NATIONAL INTERESTS OF COMMUNIST STATES BE SUBORDINATED  
TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CAUSE,  
AND

-- THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM, ONCE MADE,  
IS IRREVERSIBLE (I.E. THE SO-CALLED BREZHNEV DOCTRINE).

THE MASSIVE WEIGHT OF THE SOVIET UNION WITHIN THE EAST  
EUROPEAN PART OF THE CAMP HAS OF COURSE TENDED TO  
PREDETERMINE WHO DECIDES WHICH NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE TO  
BE SUBORDINATED IN THAT AREA OF THE WORLD, AND HOW  
IRREVERSIBLE IS THE TRANSITION.

3. WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT THE CURRENT SOVIET EMPHASIS ON  
PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM REFLECTS IN ANY WAY A CHANGE  
IN DOCTRINE, OR EVEN IN DOCTRINAL EMPHASIS, ON THIS  
SCORE. RATHER WE SEE IT MERELY AS ONE MORE REFLECTION OF  
THE "DARK SIDE OF DETENTE." RELAXATION OF EAST-WEST  
TENSION HAS, FOR THE USSR, ALWAYS PRESUPPOSED RELIABLE  
CONTROL MECHANISMS TO CONTAIN THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT  
RELAXATION IN ITS EAST EUROPEAN EMPIRE. SINCE PEACEFUL  
COEXISTENCE AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM ARE REGARDED  
BY MOSCOW AS TWO FACETS OF THE SAME PROCESS, MOVEMENT IN  
THE FORMER AREA (AND MOSCOW CONSIDERS THE CSCE MAJOR  
MOVEMENT IN THIS RESPECT) INEXORABLY DICTATES THAT GREATER  
ATTENTION BE GIVEN THE LATTER.

4. CURRENT EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE PUSH FOR EAST  
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME  
TIME IN TANDEM WITH THE DETENTE PROCESS, IS NOW APPROACH-  
ING THE POINT WHERE ORGANIZATIONAL AND/OR INSTITUTIONAL  
DECISIONS ARE BEING REQUIRED IN THE WARSAW PACT. AS A  
RESULT, THERE ARE ON THE ONE HAND, SIGNS OF FRICTION IN,  
INTER ALIA, ROMANIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, AND ON THE OTHER  
HEIGHTENED IDEOLOGICAL ATTENTION TO THE DICTATES OF  
"PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM." AT THE SAME TIME NATIONAL-  
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ISM IS DENIGRATED AND "SOCIAL PATRIOTISM" EXTOLLED. WE  
DO NOT INTERPRET THIS AS REFLECTING A LESSENING SOVIET  
COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE -- RATHER THE OPPOSITE;  
INTENSIFIED EFFORT TO INSURE THAT THE PURSUIT OF PEACEFUL  
COEXISTENCE WITH THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD CAN CONTINUE  
WITHOUT DANGER TO MOSCOW'S EAST EUROPEAN HEGEMONY.

5. IN THE VOLUMINOUS SOVIET LITERATURE ON PEACEFUL

COEXISTENCE, WE KNOW OF NOTHING WHICH WOULD TEND TO  
CONFLICT WITH THE INTERPRETIVE FORMULA USED IN THE UK-USSR

COMMUNIQUE. INDEED, IT MIGHT BE ARGUED THAT THE SOVIET  
CONCEPT HAS ALWAYS ALLOWED FOR EXPANDED COOPERATION WITH  
THE WEST, EVEN IF IT WERE NOT EXPLICITLY STRESSED. AT  
THE SAME TIME, THAT NEW FORMULA IN NO WAY ALTERS WHAT WE  
CONSIDER IS STILL THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM, I.E. THAT THE  
USSR INSISTS ON USING A DIFFERENT SET OF STANDARDS WHEN  
DEALING WITH THE COMMUNIST CAMP. KISSINGER

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